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through Southeast Asia, irrespective of what the parts of Southeast Asia may have in common and overriding their traditional differences.

Every human type is represented in Southeast Asia. Successive peoples from East-Central Asia have filtered overland from the north, ranging from primitive Australoid types who left a few

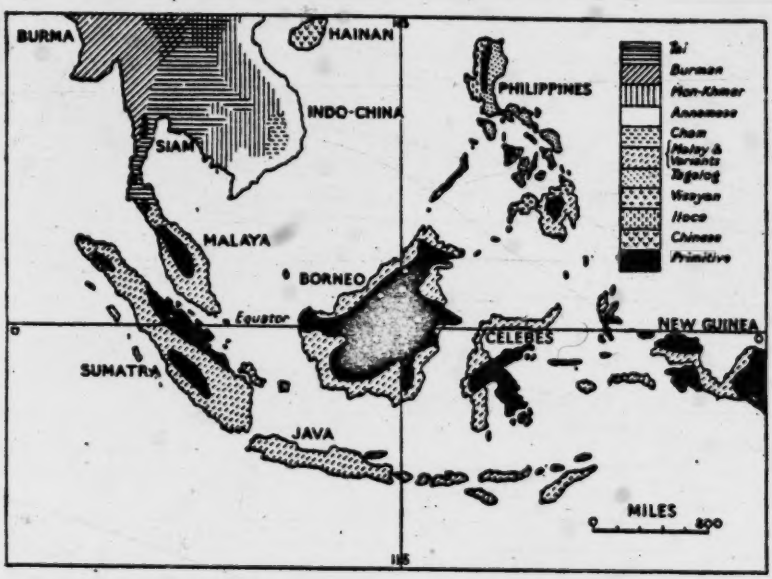

FIG. 118.—The Pattern of Languages in Southeast Asia

Negrito and Australoid people in the forests as mark of the greater stream which went island hopping to Australia, to the later Tibetan-Mongoloid peoples, forefathers of the Burmese, Siamese and Laos of today. Then there were centuries of Indian migration early in this era, pressing overseas from South India across Kra, along the coasts of Sumatra and Java, into Lower Siam and the Lower Mekong, leaving an indelible mark in the speech, culture and religions of people there today; this was a spread of Indian merchant adventurers and traders, and large-scale colonies exclusively of Indian settlers seem not to have been established, but in time there took place a great blood mixture between Indians and the older indigenous stocks. Later came a similar seaborne migration into Southeast Asia by predominantly Chinese people who first trickled south in the manner of sea gipsies, developed agricultural colonies

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THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHEASTERN ASIA

THOMAS A. SEBEOK
Princeton University

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THE origin of the various languages of Southeastern Asia is veiled by the same mist, broken by only occasional glimmers of light, which hides from the ethnologist and even the historian the steps by which the territory was populated, its culture diffused. Nevertheless, a rough outline appears practicable.

Among the most ancient inhabitants of the area are the various tribes of Negritos, the Eta, the Semang, and the Andaman Islanders. One of their characteristics, in this region just as in Africa, seems to be that, with the exception of but one group, they everywhere abandoned their original language and adopted in its place that spoken by their respective neighbors, that is, the Sakai, Malayan, or African Negro dialects.

The one notable, and scientifically most valuable, exception is the language spoken by the Andaman Islanders. Excellent though the available ethnological material is, the linguistic reports are rather poor. So far as one can gather, there are two main groups of dialects: the languages spoken by the ten tribes of the Great Andaman; and the Önge language, spoken by the peoples of the South Andaman and the Little Andaman. For further information about them, the reader may refer with profit to A. R. Brown's "Notes on the languages of the Andaman Islands" (*Anthropos* 9 (1914), 36–52). Attempts were made, especially by Blagden, to discover remnants of an ancient Negrito vocabulary among the Semangs, and subsequently to compare these with Andamanese word lists—but these attempts have borne little fruit so far.

THE MON-KHMER LANGUAGES

The first Mongoloids to reach Southeastern Asia seem to have spoken a branch of the Mon-Khmer language family. The Semangs, pygmies of the Malay Peninsula, and the Sakai, another non-Malay group of the mainland, speak what appears to be the most archaic of all the Mon-Khmer tongues, even more so than the stilted forms of written Mon and Khmer. Other members of this family that survive to this day are: Khasi, spoken in Assam; Nicobarese, with half a dozen dialects, spoken in the Nicobar Islands; the languages spoken by some tribes along the basin of the Salween River,

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197 particularly the Palaung, Wa, and Riang; and finally the Mon-Khmer group proper.

The language of the Mon is spoken on the coast of the gulf of Pegu. Inscriptions date from as far back as the 11th century. They are in Myazediin script. Khmer is spoken in Cambodia, and its inscriptions are available from about the first half of the 7th century. There are also about a dozen other dialects spoken by scattered tribes throughout this area.

The Mon-Khmer languages are sometimes grouped together with Munda, a large family of languages spoken in the Northeastern sector of India today —but this is not supported by evidence. Similarly, it may be doubted if dialects of this language family have really spread into Yunnan in Southwest China. For example, Wen Yu showed recently that Min-chia, long held to have been a Mon-Khmer dialect, belongs in reality to Tibeto-Burman ("A study of synonyms in the Min-chia language," *Studia Serica* 1 (1940), 1–28). The term "Austroasiatic"—if it means more than just Mon-Khmer—covers a multitude of linguistic methodological sins. And if the existence of an "Austroasiatic" family of languages is doubtful, an "Austric" superstock, combining the former with Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian), is much more improbable still. For further information on Mon-Khmer consult the writer's "Examination of the Austroasiatic language family" (*Language* 18 (1942), 206–17), which contains references as well as a lengthy list of languages, and further his "Bibliography of Mon-Khmer linguistics" (*Studies in Linguistics*, Vol. 1, No. 11, 1943).

It is only fair to point out, however, that in a recent paper, "Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: A new alignment in Southeastern Asia" (*American Anthropologist* 44 (1942), 576–601), Paul Benedict attempted boldly to combine into a single language family Thai, Indonesian and "Kadai"—and further to add this hypothetical family to Mon-Khmer-Annamite, and in a further synthesis, Miao-Yao. "Kadai" is a new term of the author's for Kelao, Laqua, and Lati of the mainland, that is, in Southcentral China and the China-Tonkin border region, and Li of Hainan. This writer regards Benedict's interesting attempt with a good deal of scepticism, for the type of evidence he uses to prove his hypothesis is not altogether satisfactory. Further judgment may well be postponed until new and better material to work with has been collected.

THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

197 Indonesian (Malayan) is a family of languages spoken over an enormous 171 territory: the Malay Peninsula, the East Indies, the Philippine Islands, 184

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Madagascar, and Formosa. Furthermore, a distant but clear relationship exists between Indonesian on the one hand, and the Oceanic languages, Melanesian, Micronesian, Polynesian, on the other.

The dialect spoken on the mainland, around, say, Perak, is known simply as Malay; this is, moreover, something of a *lingua franca:* "bazaar" or "pidgin" Malay and is understood throughout the Indies, except in some of the interior districts.

The large number of dialects in this area—there are 87 in the Philippine Islands alone—cannot be accounted for in terms of separate waves of migrations, for ethnology recognizes no more than three major ones; the distinctions become less puzzling, however, if we consider the geographical factors which resulted in ethnic isolation of more or less small groups. Perhaps the most isolated, and hence the most divergent, dialects of Indonesian are spoken in Madagascar; the Hova dialect of the Malagasy group is the literary one.

The chief groups on the Philippine Islands are four: the Luzon group (chief dialects, Iloco, Ibanag, Apayao, Kalinga, Tingguian, Bontoc, Ifugao, Igorot, Ilongot, Tagalog), second, the Bisaya group (chief dialects, Cebu-Bisaya, Panay-Bisaya), third, Mindoro-Palawan (chief dialects, Mangyan, Kuyónon, Tagbanua), and finally, the Mindanao-Sulu group (chief dialects, Lanao, Magindanao, Subanon, Mandaya, Bagobo, Kulaman, Tiruray). For a map of distribution of these and other dialects see Herbert W. Krieger, "Peoples of the Philippines" (*Smithsonian Institution, War Background Studies No. 4*, Washington, 1942, Fig. 4).

Some of the dialects in the East Indies are as follows. Sumatra: Minangkabau, Karo and Toba (together known as Batak), Gayo, Kubu, etc. Mentawey is spoken on the island by that name. Dayak and Punan are spoken in Borneo. Java: Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese. Celebes: Toradja, Bulu, Tontemboan, Bugis, Makassa, Bareqe. Balinese is the language of Bali. There are a good many others as well.

Several members of the Indonesian family, Malay in particular, have been studied with more or less thoroughness. But the best material is in Dutch and available only with difficulty here. For an excellent recent contribution in America cf. the outline of Iloco (a Philippine dialect) syntax (*Language* 18 (1942), 193–200), by Leonard Bloomfield.

The empires of the Mon and the Khmer were shattered in relatively recent times by folks who spoke Burmese and Thai respectively. The speakers of these languages dominate Burma and Thailand today, and Mon-Khmer is rapidly disappearing.

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THE INDO-CHINESE LANGUAGES

197 Both these dialect groups belong to the Indo-Chinese family of languages. 184 Chinese, of course, is the best known member of this family. Thai, as far as evidence now indicates, may be said to be another member. Thai is generally divided into two groups, the Chuang group, spoken chiefly in Kwangsi and southern Kweichow and in parts of Hainan, and the Southwestern group.

This Southwestern group itself divides into several dialects. One of these is Shan, spoken in the Shan states of the north by about one million souls; some of whom inhabit parts of Yunnan province. The P'o, the Kamti, and related tribes also speak dialects of Shan. Ahom, formerly spoken throughout Assam, is another member of this Southwestern group. Tai Blanc, Nung, Tho, and others, form a third grouping, and are spoken in French Indo-China as well as the southwestern part of Kwangsi. Finally, and chiefly, there is Thai itself, the official language (Bangkok dialect) of Thailand, and its closest relative, Lao, spoken by the Laos of the North. The first Siamese writing that we possess dates from the period of the famous king Ram Gamheng, with inscriptions of the 13th century.

197 Some recent studies on certain aspects of Thai may be recommended to the interested reader: they are, "Types of reduplication in Thai" (*Studies in Linguistics*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1942), and "The use of numeral classifiers in Thai" (*Language* 18 (1942), 201–05), both by Mary Haas. The best short discussion of the position of Thai in the Indo-Chinese family may be found in the 1938–39 issue of the *Chinese year book*, by a very reliable scholar, Li Fang Kuei ("Languages and Dialects," pp. 43–51).

Annamese is another bone of contention between scholars. On the one hand stands Maspero, linking this group definitely with Thai, and on the other hand stands Przyluski, supported recently by Benedict, linking it with Mon-Khmer. That the latter are wrong and Maspero is right, as far as evidence now indicates, was demonstrated by the brilliant Chinese scholar Wen Yu ("On the kinship of the Annamitic language," *Meridio-Occidentale Sinense*, 1 (1940), 66–73). Wen Yu rightly rejects, and effectively, Przyluski's lexical and morphological arguments; then he shows that Maspero's phonological arguments can fully be supported from the morphology, concluding that "from morphological study the Annamitic is completely in harmony with the Thaic."

Tibeto-Burman seems to be another branch of the Indo-Chinese family. Among the languages of the Burman side is, of course, Burmese itself. About sixteen dialects of this language are spoken by approximately ten

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million people. Of Karen, a related language, there are some one and a half million still left, with about seventeen dialects. The Nosu (Lolo) may speak a related tongue: they occupy a large part of Yunnan, the northwest of Kweichow, and portions of southern Sikiang. Their position, however, is rather anomalous.

The Miao-Yao group is the most controversial of all the languages of this territory, as far as historical relationships go. It must be remembered throughout that the linguist's first task is to describe the languages of a given area. Only after careful and scientifically comparable records have been prepared must he make statements of a historical character. Since there are no reliable descriptions of the great majority—almost all—the languages of Southeastern Asia, every statement concerning relationships must be carefully and critically scrutinized before accepted. The Miao-Yao controversy is only one of those which may well be postponed until its dialects are adequately described.

The above is the merest sketch outlining the languages of Southeastern Asia: the list is by no means exhaustive; and the references are intended to guide the reader to further material. Paul Benedict gave his permission to this writer to announce that he will shortly publish a bibliography of Southeast Asiatic linguistics, devoted, however, mainly to dialects of the Tibeto-Burman stock, though also dealing with Thai, Miao-Yao, and "Kadai." The most complete list of books (but not of periodical literature) pertaining to the entire Southeast Asiatic field will be found in the appropriate section of Heine-Geldern and Poleman's *Selected list of books on India, Ceylon, Tibet, and Southeast Asia* to appear soon under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies.

From the point of view of practical considerations as distinct from scientific interests there are three languages in the territory under survey which are of primary importance: Malay, Thai, and Burmese. When the war in the Far East broke out the situation with regard to instruction in these languages, not to mention the others, was quite deplorable. In an important article (*Asia* 42. 375–78) in June 1942, Mortimer Graves wrote as follows: "Not one American is a recognized scholar in the field or equipped to teach Malay intensively for the emergency. Moreover, not only are there no teachers; there are none of the paraphernalia of instruction—no adequate grammars, dictionaries for students, books of readings, phonograph records and so on, which make possible the modern teaching of a language. . . . Even though Java has fallen, our relations with Malay-speaking peoples have just begun. Much the same is to be said about Thai, or Siamese," and, Mr.

VIII

Kinship Notation

121 A aunt
128 B brother
197 C cousin
601 Ce cousin (male)
Ci cousin (female)
Ch child
D daughter
(ds) (different sex from speaker's)
F father
g grand-
l -in-law
M mother
N nephew or niece
Ne nephew
Ni niece
(os) (older than speaker)
p parallel
P parent
S son
Sb sibling
Si sister
Sp spouse
(ss) (same sex as speaker's)
U uncle
x cross
(ys) (younger than speaker)

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121 "linguistic palaeontology" is essentially devoted to
128 semantics. Other studies in the general field, with the exception of those noted below, are entirely superficial and need not be cited here. The fact that a sound morphological and semantic analysis can proceed only from a sound phonological basis has gone largely unheeded by students of Tibeto-Burman linguistics. The writer, working in collaboration with Mr. Robert Shafer, has attempted to supply this basis. The fruit of their joint effort is embodied in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series as well as in individual articles by the co-authors. This series of volumes, as specified in the bibliography appended to the present introduction, covers most of the Tibeto-Burman divisions, the major exceptions being Miri-Dafla, Konyak (East Naga), Lepcha (Rong), and Lui (Kadu). The results achieved in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series are in no sense definitive, but a number of broad phonetic generalizations have been attained and in some instances rather detailed phonetic analyses have been completed. In the present study the writer has refined the analysis at many points and has in some places arrived at new interpretations, while the phonological treatment of Miri-Dafla, Lepcha, and other groups is presented here for the first time.

197 The Tibeto-Burman languages, like Karen, Chinese, and Thai, are characterized by the presence of monosyllabic roots and the employment of distinctive tones (tonemes).

601 193 In striking contrast to this rather elaborate prefix apparatus Tibeto-Burman shows almost no true morphological suffixation. A characteristic "final dental morphology", however, appears in Tibetan, Kachin and elsewhere and undoubtedly must be postulated for the parent speech. In this series Tibetan has -n, -d, and -s, the latter in some instances derived from -ds. Cf. the following examples: Tib. za-ba, gza-ba "to eat", gzan-pa "to eat,devour,gnaw", bzan "food of animals, pasturage", zan "pap, fodder", zas "food, nourishment", and Kachin ʸa "to eat", ʸat "boiled rice", i.e. "food"; Tib. ʼgo-ba "to put on clothes", gon-pa "to put on clothes; clothing", gos "garment"; Tib. dro-ba "to be warm, warm, warmth", dro, dros "the hot part of the day", dros-pa "heated", dron-mo "warm", drod "warmth, heat". As indicated by the above series, these derivatives in -n, -d, -s are often substantival, the typical formation being of the type na-ba "to be ill", nad "disease". The connection between the verbal root and the derived form with final dental is not always clear, especially in languages in which this morphology no longer functions, e.g. Burmese na "to be ill", nat "demon" < "spirit of disease" (see the discussion in Benedict, 1939). The importance of this morphology in connection with kinship terminology will be made clear in the discussion of the Tibetan system.

197 The classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages presents a number of serious problems which admit of no solution at the present time. The general picture is much

197 like that in Indo-European linguistics, i.e. several large well-defined groups and various smaller groups can be pointed out, but, with the exception of a few specific similarities, the exact genealogies of these groups cannot be traced. The 128 main divisions of Tibeto-Burman and the approximate positions 197 of some of the key languages are indicated on the appended language list and map. This list includes only those languages for which kinship material is given and is in no sense complete. This material has been arranged with a view to guiding the reader through the maze of Tibeto-Burman linguistics, hence the transitions are both geographical and philological. First the important Tibetan group and its aberrant dialects are considered, thus yielding a yardstick of comparison against which other systems can be collated. Proceeding then to the south, we discuss the chain of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan area, from west to east, ending with the Miri group in northern Assam. The linguistic affiliations follow much the same pattern, inasmuch as the languages of Kanauri type in the western sub-Himalayas approach Tibetan while those in the eastern sub-Himalayas (Nepal) show affiliations rather with the languages of Assam and Burma. The Kachin group, which stands at the "linguistic crossroads" of Tibeto-Burman, forms the natural transition to Nung and Burmese on the one hand, and to Konyak and Barish on the other. Lastly, the Kukic complex of languages, including Kuki-Chin, Naga,

128 197 Mikir, and Meithei, round out our picture of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology as a whole. As new material is presented in connection with each group taken up for discussion, recapitulatory remarks are added to tie the argument together, and a general summary is offered at the end.

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1. Tibetan	12. Dafla	23. Lisu	33. Lushei
2. Tsangla	13. Digaru	24. Nyi	34. Lakher
3. Gyarung	14. Aka	25. Ahi	35. Thado
4. Kanauri	15. Dhimal	26. Moso	36. Sho
5. Byangai	16. Kachin	27. Chang	37. Khami
6. Baking	17. Nung	28. Garo	38. Tangkhul
7. Vayu	18. Burmese	29. Bodo	39. Empeo
8. Newari	19. Maru	30. Mikir	40. Angami
9. Magari	20. Phunoi	31. Meithei	41. Sema
10. Lepcha	21. Akha	32. Mru	42. Ao
11. Abor-Miri	22. Lahu		

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Language List:

Abor Miri 11. Ahi 25. Aka 14. Akha 21. Angami 40. Ao 42. Baking 6. Bodo 29. Burmese 18. Byangsi 5. Chang 27. Dafla 12. Dhimal 15. Digaru 13. Empeo 39. Garo 28. Gyarung 3. Kachin 16. Kanauri 4. Khami 37. Lahu 22. Lakher 34. Lepcha 10. Lisu 23. Lushei 33. Magari 9. Maru 19. Meithei 31. Mikir 30. Moso 26. Mru 32. Newari 8. Nung 17. Nyi 24. Phunoi 20. Sema 41. Sho 36. Tangkhul 38. Thado 35. Tibetan 1. Tsangla 2. Vayu 7.

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23: Benedict E-5 (no date) 1941 All Southeast Asia All

SA 121 601 ST 121 601 a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the task of investigating each element of that system, both independently and correlatively.

In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendants, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements are based largely on "partial equations" and must thus be held in reserve until a basic framework has been set up. Nine roots, eight of which are applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete Tibeto-Burman series as culled from the foregoing review. These roots constitute the following systems

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Tibeto-Burman Terms

*p'i gH		*p'u gF
*m K		*p'a F
*ni FSi		*k'u KB
	*ŋaŋ ŋth	
	*ŋa Ch	
		*mak Sl

The forms given above can be accepted with some confidence as fair approximations of the archaic Tibeto-Burmen roots. All except the affinal term *mak have vocalic finals, and it was on the basis of finals or "rhymes" (medial vowel + final consonant), especially of vocalic finals, that Shafer and the writer were able to work out the main features of Tibeto-Burmen phonology. Earlier writers had in general attacked the problem from the most difficult angle, that of initials and tones. Thus, no less a scholar than Laufer is responsible for the following absurd dictum:

> Prefixes as well as final consonants....are of minor importance in the comperative study of Indo-Chinese languages.... the staff of comparison remains the initial consonant and the tone conditioned by it. (TP 17, p. 115).

Prefixes have shown to be of basic importance, while both the initials and the tones have been so influenced by the prefixes that our analysis of them still lags far behind our analysis of the finals. In the above set of terms, however, the only problems in re initials concern the aspiration or lack of aspiration, voicing or unvoicing, of the stop initials of *p'i, *p'u, *p'a, and *k'u. Rukish has *pi gV and *pu gF,

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but initial aspiration is not well preserved in this group. Mikir has p'i gK, p'u gF, hu < *k'u HB, but po < *pa F. Meithei, which ordinarily preserves aspiration, has pu gF, pa F, and ku Fl (< HB). Kachin has ku HF (< HB) rather than the anticipated *k'u, and Burmese has (ats-)kui oB rather than *k'ui. Tibetan has p'yi gL, p'a F, and k'u FB (< HB), while both Tibetan and Kachin have p'u oB (< gF). It may be that one or more of these roots had a sonant rather than a surd initial. Initial g-, a rare element in our comparative material, is perhaps indicated for the HB root (*gu ~ *g'u), but at present nothing definite can be said on this point.

Only one of the above terms is uncertain as regards final, viz. *ni FSl. Classical Tibetan has no rather than *ni, and Meithei has nem ~ ne rather than *ni, both of which point to an archaic form *nei rather than *ni. The weight of evidence, however, speaks in favor of the reconstruction *ni, from which *nei may have been developed as a doublet root; cf. Kukish *nau yBb, *nou "young, tender", which tend to be confused (vide pt. 15).

The basic gF terms *p'i and *p'u are found together in Garish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, Kukish, and Burmish-Lolcish (but p'e^{3} ggF < *p'i in Burmese itself, which has a new term [p'we^{3}] for gK). The root *p'i is further retained in its basic meaning in Tibetan, Kanauri (perhaps Tibetan loan-word), Bahing, and Vayu, while Chang has retained it in the meaning "gF". In northern TB groups the root *p'u has been applied

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to oB, viz. in Tibetan, Limbu, Newari (only in combination), Digaro, and Kachin. This semantic interchange also appears in Burmish-Loloish, viz. Moso p'u gF, bu oB, Nyi bu gF, pu oB. The interplay of surd and sonant initials in these Moso and Nyi forms indicates that doublets are involved. In Barish the root *p'i gM (in the form bi) has been applied to oSi, both in the Bodo-Dimasa and Garo divisions of this group, and also retained in its basic meaning. It is clear that these usages are connected with the especial position held by oSb, and that the gP terms function here simply as honorifics. Other TB roots, less widely distributed than the above, show the same type of semantic shift (vide infra). In societies with a patrilineal bias it is only natural that the role of oB should be of more significance than that of oSi, thus perhaps accounting for the relative stability of *p'i as compared with *p'u. It can hardly be without significance that in the single matrilineal group encountered (Barish) the term *p'i gM should have been applied to oSi, in contrast to all other TB groups.

Of the two basic P terms *p'a F and *na M, the former is the most widely distributed and shows fewer variations. The following groups have this root (*p'a): Tibetan, Kanauri, Byangsi, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Miri, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish. This root commonly appears as a masculine affix, but no instance of a transference to "oB" has been uncovered. The

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root *ma M appears in Tibetan, Kanauri, Baking, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Barish, and Meithei. In Burmese itself it is retained only in the terms ma' Si and a-ma' "feminine suffix", and in the closely-related Maru only in the meaning "MSi". Tiru has preserved this root only in the feminine suffix -ma. A transference to the meaning "oSi" is found in the contiguous North Assam groups Dafla and Aka. In Kachin and the extensive Kukish group this root appears to have vanished without leaving a trace.

The two PSb terms *ni and *k'u are also unequally represented in Tibeto-Burman. The root *ni FSi is of almost universal occurrence. In its basic meaning it appears in Tibetan, Gyarung, Kanauri, Thebor, Vayu, Newari, Abor-Miri, Nung, Burmish-Loloish (but not in Burmese itself), Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, and Kukish. Kachin has retained it only in the affinal meaning "WM". Aka, if we can trust our inadequate sources, has applied this root to M, while Limbu has applied it to oSi. Replacement by the term for "oSi" is seen in Dafla, Sho, Changki (Ao), and probably Kadu, while Mongsen (Ao) shows replacement by the term for "oSb". The Dafla material indicates that this is an analytical development ("oSi of F"). Lepcha equates FSi with MBi in the term nyu ~ nyo, applied to female relatives in the uterine line. This unusual equation also appears in Baking, which has mo-mo MSi,FSi (from mo < *ma M), and po-po FB (from po < *pa F), yet has ku-ku MB. Distinct terms have been

SA 601 193 ●197 developed in Kachin (moi), which preserves *-ui as an affinal term (WH), and in Burmese (ri^{3}), but *-ui is retained in the closely related Maru. The Dimasa term da-de FBi (be-de MB) is likewise distinct.

ST 601 193 197 The much more restricted root *-k'u MB is found in its primary meaning in Bahing, Vayu, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Digaro, Mung, Mikir, and Ao. Tibetan has k'u FB, but akui < *-k'u Fi,Bi. Himalayish and Lepcha also have k'u FB, probably because of Tibetan influence. Kachin, Meithei, Htenyi Rengma, and Anyo Rengma have retained the term in the affinal meaning "HF" (Meithei Fi), and Sema in the affinal meaning "FSiH". Chang (Konyak) has the form ko MB, which cannot with certainty be connected with this root. In the Burmish-Loloish group we can cite only Burmese hui "prefix used with names of persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (ate-hui oB), Akha a-hõ B, Ahi hõ-pu-li ySiH, and Moso a-gu Bi. The Moso usage is paralleled in the Barish group, where we find Bodo gu-moi, Garo gu-mo Bi. This root cannot be traced in the Kuki languages proper, yet can be reconstructed for Kukish on the basis of the Naga terms (supra), and for Kukis in general on the basis of the Mikir and Meithei terms.

The root *-nau ySb, occasionally applied either to yS or ySi alone, also to Ch, is well represented in Tibeto-Burman. It appears in the following groups: Tibetan (nu ∼ no), Byangsi (yB), Limbu, Lepcha, Aka, Kachin, Konyak, Barish (ySi), Meithei, Kru (yS), and Kukish (ySb ∼ Ch). The most conspicuous gaps are those in Abor-Miri-Dafla, Mung, and Burmish-Loloish.

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The eighth and last of the basic consanguineal terms is *wa Ch, which is found in Tsangla, Nagari, Miju, Aka, Kachin, Hkaw, Nung (za-wi D), Pyu, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Nikir, Meithei, Mru, and Mukish (rarely used for ySb, as in Poaren and Kyau). Lepcha has a-so < *sa ggF, a-son gCh (with suffixed -n). This root is conspicuously absent in Tibetan and its dialects (but present in Tsangla, a Bodish language), Himalayish, and Kiranti, i.e. the northern or northwestern band of Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in the Abor-Miri-Dafla group.

The affinal term *mak Sl appears in Tibetan, Lepcha (< *smak), Dhimal (< *smak), Miri, Kachin (da-ma < *da-mak), Burmese (ma-mak), Meithei, Mru, and Mukish, with an additional uncertain occurrence in Byangsi. In view of our generally inadequate data on affinal nomenclatures (e.g. we do not have the term for "Sl" in Nung, where we should expect to find this root), the widespread distribution of this root is of increased significance. It would appear that the root is lacking in Himalayish, Nikir, Konyak, and Barish.

The above set of basic terms is supplemented by a series of roots of restricted distribution. Some of these serve mainly as replacements for the basic roots, while others are functionally more independent. Since our set of basic terms is not complete, we must assume that some of these roots represent archaic Tibeto-Burman elements, but this point is best discussed after the various secondary roots have been analyzed.

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The gP roots *p'i gM and *p'u gF have no serious rivals in Tibeto-Burman. A curious link between Tibetan and Southern Naki is suggested by the following set of terms: Tib. po ~ spo gF (literary or dialectical), rmo gM (literary), and Sho a-pŏ ~ a-pŏk gF, Chinbon kh-mo gM, Yindu kə-mo gF. A possible root *si is indicated by Balti as-si (= a-si) ggM, Kung a-si gM, Khami a-um-si gP, and Kadu a-si MSi (i-si "woman"), Yindu kə-si FSi, Sho a-si FSi, oSi (cf. the roots *ta and *tei, infra). In general, gP terms show more variation than do P terms; thus, Kachin has developed distinct terms for both gM (woi) and gF (ji), and note forms such as Byangsi ti-ti gF, Bahing and Vayu ki-ki gF.

The most conspicuous of the secondary P roots is *nu M, which appears in Kachin, Miju, Sak, Konyak, Nukish, and perhaps Mikir and Meithei (in combination). The root *pui "mother, female" is restricted to Mikir and Nukish. The Nukish feminine affix *la, used especially of young females, seems to have given rise to Mongsen-Changki (Ao) a-la M, Ntenyi Rengma a-la ggM, Anyo Rengma a-la gM, and cf. Byangsi la-la gM, Sunwari a-la Si. The same root (*la) appears in Kachin, Burmish-Loloish, and elsewhere as a masculine affix. The Tibeto-Burman root *wa "male" serves to explain both Bunan and Kachin wa, Kadu a-wa, Garo (dialects of A type) a-wa F (Moshang and Namsang wa F probably through Kachin influence), Aka au < *a-wa F, Burmese wa-kri[3] "term of address to old man" (Arakanese dialect), and Lepcha a-vo < *wa, Meithei (ma-)wa, Nukish wa H; cf. also Digaro ma-wa "male",

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Khimal -ma "masculine suffix", Bodo hova "male". Some of these forms, however, may have resulted from a phonetic development from *p'a F (probably via *ba).

A root *mei or *ma appears sporadically in Tibeto-Burman, sometimes with a dental suffix. This root is parallel to, but distinct from, TB *ma M. The following forms belong here: Tibetan -med "woman" (in bud-med < *bu-med, paralleling bu-gnyis), Gyarung to-mi ~ to-mo "woman", Kanauri -med (suffix in "D" and "Ml"), Chamba Lahuli mo "bitch", Limbu met W, Lepcha a-mit "woman", Ende a-mo M, Rung a-mo M (cf. Rung a-p'o F), Burmese a-mi^{3} ~ a-ma M, and Garo ma-cik "woman, wife". Note also the series formed by Burmese sa-mi^{3}, Akha ma-mi, Rung za-mi D (from *ma Ch). Garo ga-ma Bl, Mikir ma SiH correspond phonetically but can scarcely be fitted in otherwise.

In addition to the above, there are traces of a set of roots *ya and *yu, both applied to female relatives. The former is better attested than the latter; cf. Himalayish (Newshati, Kanashi, Chamba Lahuli) yu M, Abor-Miri and Dafla yo < *ya gN (but in Pagri Miri used for "M" in address), Tshaleng (Konyak group) ya M, Naga *ya M, also Kanauri yas, Bai (Kiranti) ma-ya, Burmese ma-ya^{3} W, Digaro mi-ya "woman", ka-mi-ya W. The root *yu is represented only by Kanauri yu-med, Khambu (Kiranti) yuh, Lepcha a-yu W, Lepcha tA-yu "woman", and perhaps Tibetan yu-mo "female of a stag".

Nothing has yet been said of oSb terms, which show a wide variety of forms contrasting with the standard ySb root (*nau

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Much of the material in this connection is of a scattered nature from which it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Thus, Byangsi hya, Bahing ya oB, Maithei ya-ma oB, Chaute (Old Kuki) a-ya B, ai-ya oSi, and Khami ya-at ~ ya-i oB suggest an archaic root *ya oB, yet this same element appears in another setting (supra). Burmese ste-hni < *ik-hni oB, Mikir ik oB lack cognates elsewhere, as do Maru pai oSi, Chonbok pai oSi(ws), unless the latter pair be connected with Burmese a-pai "madam" and perhaps Mikir pei ~ pe M. The characteristic Kukish root a oSb (Central, Northern, and Old Kuki groups only) does not appear elsewhere in this setting, yet appears to be identical to Sho ă M, Taungtha u W, Maru u M, and Burmese u^3 MB (prefixed to names of men considerably older than the speaker), perhaps also Tanghkhul a-wŏ gF,MB.

Three or four roots, however, stand out more prominently than the above lot and deserve especial consideration. Tibetan c'e oSi(ws) has been compared with Himalayish *c'e "female" as represented by Kanauri c'ets "female, woman", Kanashi c'ets W (with diminutive suffix -ts) and with the Byangsi-Chaudangsi term c'e xC, as well as with Johar a-ce F. The above terms all point to a TB root *c'ei. A similar root, but apparently with unaspirated initial (*cei), is represented by Konyak jei ~ cei oSb ~ oB, Maithei ce oSi, Tanghkhul cei oSb, Western Kuki *cei oSb, Anyo Rangma a-ce oSb. The Tibetan term appears to be etymologically connected with the word c'e-ba "great", from which the respectful term gcen-po oB has been developed.

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A root *ma oSi appears in Maruri, Vayu, Kachin, Andro, and Konyak, while the Aiguva and Abor-Miri-Dafla groups have *ma M, and Lakher has the vocative term i-ma M. Tibetan ma D1 perhaps also belongs here, though it may be of periphrastic origin (< ma "oath").

The Tibeto-Burman root *ta (often in the form da) is consistently applied to relatives older than Ego, if one regards the Bahing-Vayu root *ta CH as of distinct origin. The following terms can be grouped with this root: Tibetan 'a-ta F (dialectical), oB (Eastern Tibet), Tsangla a-ta oB, Gyarung a-da-ta F, Johar a-ta oSi, Byangsi ta-ta oSi, Newari ta-ta oSi, Miri and Dafla a-to < *ta gF, Digaro ta gF, da oB, Burmese t'a^{3}-t'a^{3} F (dialectical), Akha a-ta F, Independent Lolo a-ta F, Sho a-ta oB, Chinbon (ka-)t'a oB, Lhota a-ta oSb, Changki (Ao) a-ta FSi,oSi, Nzong Rongma a-da FoB. Doublet forms are found only in Digaro (ta gF, da oB). Unlike *p'a gF,oB this root has also been applied to F in some languages (Tibetan, Gyarung, Burmese, Akha). Desgodins describes the Tibetan term 'a-ta as a "children's word" (vox puerorum), and in Independent Lolo a distinction is made between a-ta F (used by children) and a-bu ~ a-bo F (used by adults).

Kanauri te-te gF, a-te oB are clearly of a type paralleling that described above. The suggested TB root is *tei, with which can be grouped Byangsi te-te zC(ws), Dafla tĕ-tĕ FyB,oB (in different sources), Kadu a-te oSi, Bangara a-tai oB, Mikir te oSi(ws), Maithei i-tei-ma oSil, and Mru a-tai BW.

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 An objection might be raised to the above discussion on the ground that forms such as *na, *ta, and *tsi (te) are of "nursery word" type and should not be regarded as representing actual TB roots. The writer himself originally ascribed to this general point of view, but the collection of material on which this study is based has led him to discard it. Thus, ta F appears both in the West Tibetan dialects (Balti, Purik) and in the nomad dialects of Eastern Tibet, as well as in the aberrant Gyarung language, whence we can safely infer a Bodish root *ta F. The term na oSi appears in five distinct languages representing two different foci (Murmi-Vayu and Kachin-Andro-Konyak), and na H in two isolated groups (Almora and Abor-Miri-Dafla). Distributions of this type are scattered, to be sure, yet not entirely random. The cluster of connotations (gP,P,oSb) around these roots is also not without significance.

The majority of the terms for Sb(ds) are of limited distribution. Tibetan sring-mo Si(ms), dialectically used for ySi, appears also in Himalayish (Si) and Byangsi (ySi), with an additional possible occurrence in Dhimal-Toto (Si). Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), often used for ySi, is directly related to Kukish *dzar Si(ms), which in Western Kuki is used for ySi, and to Meithei i-cal ~ i-can ySi, Kadu san, Songmai cʻl yʻi. Kachin yung B(ws) has been compared with the Garo-Dimasa root *yung yB. The tendency to equate Sb(ds) with ySb is reflected in all three roots.

The roots *nau ySb and *za Ch are of almost universal occurrence and have no serious rivals. The former is

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conspicuously absent in Burmish-Loloish, which has a root *nyi (ní), comparable with Lepcha nyi-t'i gCh. A root *nga is suggested by Murmi and Gurung a-nga ySl, Miri ăng-ă ySb, Dafla ang-a Ch, Naga *nga Ch. Isolated roots *a Ch and *ka Ch are represented by Digaro a, Abor-Miri o < a Ch, and Newari ka, Abor-Miri ko < *ka Ch, respectively.

It will be noted that the set of basic terms presented above lacks all collateral terms as well as a gCh term. Our data on collateral terms are incomplete for many groups, so that negative evidence here is of relatively little value, but it would seem that no root or roots for xC have been developed. The only root of any extension here is *ning, which appears in Kachin (xCe,ws), Chang (xC), Mikir BW(ws), and perhaps Garo (Sbl). The Mikir and Garo affinal meanings can be explained in terms of cross-cousin marriage.

Three or perhaps four TB roots show a tendency to equate N with gCh. Tibetan ts'a Ne (probably SiS,ms),gCh furnishes an example of this tendency. Bahing and Newari have this root (*ts'a) in the meaning "gS", but in the Kiranti languages in general it is used for "S" (see the discussion in pt. 4). Kanauri o'ad Sl (with suffixed -d) has been brought into comparison via SiS(ms), equated with Sl under cross-cousin marriage. Kachin ta'a MB,MBS(ws) can be explained only on the basis of a reciprocal development from SiS(ms). Mikir o-sa SiS(ms),Sl shows an ideal agreement on the semantic side, but the comparison is phonetically dubious. The root *ts'a appears to be lacking in other groups.

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 The roots *su and *tu have distributions which are almost, if not quite, mutually exclusive. *Su gCh appears in Kachin, Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei, while *tu appears in Nung (N), Burmish-Lolcish (xN), and Kukish (FBiCh,SiCh,mC,gCh). Anu, a Southern Kuki language, has su xC,ySi(ws),SiCh(ws),gCh, and a-su-lai SiCh(ms), covering much the same ground as Kukish *tu. The roots *su and *tu must be regarded as distinct on general phonetic grounds, and this view is strengthened by the evidence from Meithei, which has i-su gCh as well as (ma-)tu w (cf. the Kuki use of *tu in the meaning "Si", through cross-cousin marriage). The root *su is perhaps also represented in the Naga languages, in much the same setting as Anu su, viz. Angami cu ~ tsu FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS, Nzong Rengma a-cu-gu, Ntenyi Rengma a-zu-wu, Anyo Rengma a-zu FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh, but our knowledge of Naga phonology is not sufficiently advanced to establish this comparison.

A fourth root of the same general type is *ma-li, which is found in Nung (gCh), Burmish-Lolcish (gCh), Pyu (gCh), Chang (xN), Garo (SiS,ms), Mikir (xN, probably BCh,ws), and has an additional cognate in Kachin (ma-li "young man"). This root is in general lacking in Kukish, but may be represented by Taungtha Lwi Ne,Ni and Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws). It cannot be traced in Tibetan or any of the northern languages.

The affinal root corresponding to *mak Si is perhaps *nam Di, but the evidence for the latter root is not altogether satisfactory. Lepcha has nyom < *snam Di paralleling myok < *smak Si, and s- prefixed forms are also represented by

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Kanauri sten < *snem (probably for snăm) Dl, and Barish *snam Dl (based on Digaca ba-ham, Garo nam). Cf. also Gyarung smon < *snam Si, Burmese hnam < *snam ySi(ms) (inferred from mong-hnam "H and W", where mong means "yB,wa"), Lashi tu-nam Dl, nam-mo ySi(ms), Nyi nă-mo < *nam-mo ySi(ms), and Lushei hnăm < *snăm "clan". The unprefixed form appears in Byangsi nam-sia Dl, Kachin nam Dl,ySil, and Nung nam Sb, while Lepcha has both nyom < *snam Dl and nom < *nam oSi. Magari ar-năm "girl" also belongs in this series.

Of more restricted distribution are the roots *mou Dl, represented by Kukish mou (Lushei mo), Meithei i-mau, and perhaps Tibetan mo "woman", and *k'rwi Sl, represented by Kachin k'ri Sl,SiCh(ms), Burmese k'rwe^{3}-ma^{1} < *k'rwi^{3}-ma^{1}, Lisu c'i-ma Dl (with feminine suffix -ma), and perhaps Lepcha tă-gri "male". The original meanings of these roots may have been simply "female" and "male", respectively.

There remain for consideration a few poorly represented roots connected primarily with the PSb nomenclature. Nung a-tsim MSi is comparable with Tsangla a-zim, id., and Nung a-wang FB with Garo a-wang FyB, also Lashi vang-mo HF,FoSiH, Maru vung ~ vun HF,FSiH (but the Lashi and Maru terms suggest a meaning "MB" rather than "FB"). The *wang series is perhaps connected with Tibetan $^{\prime}$a-bang FSiH,MSiH (literary), Limbu (am-)pang-a "uncle", Vayu pong-pong < *pang-pang FB.

Tibetan sru MBi has been compared with Kanauri and Chamba Lahuli ru Fl, Pyu sru "relatives", and the reconstructed

SA 601 193 ●197 ST 601 193 197 Lolo root *ru MB. If these terms actually constitute a true series, we must reconstruct a root *sru ~ *ru "mother's relatives" (neuter), whence Kanauri ru Fl < MB through cross-cousin marriage, paralleling Kanauri c'ad Sl < SlS(ms). The presence of this root in Pyu, at approximately the year A.D. 1000, lends some weight to this view.

The fourth Tibetan PSb term, viz. 'a-√zang MB, is found in this form in Thebor and Lepcha, where it must be regarded as a loan-word, but not elsewhere. This form can be derived from an original *zrang and thus compared with Mru ta-rang PSiH,HF, Kukish ta-rang ~ ma-rang, id., and probably Lhota o-ṙa, Changki (Ao) (kŭ-)hram Bl(ws). Burmese a-hrang < *srang (archaic spelling is a-hsyang) "lord, master" also perhaps belongs here rather than with sring-mo Si (supra). The writer has long suspected that Tibetan initial √z- and √s- have in many instances been derived from zr- and sr-, respectively, partly because of the general instability of these clusters in Tibetan (cf. srab-srib ~ hrab-hrib ~ rab-rib "dim, obscure"), and partly on the basis of comparative material, viz. Tib. √sig "louse", Bunan √srig, Lushei hrik < *srik; Tib. √zag "day (24 hours)", Burmese rak, id.; Tib. √sags "joke, jest" (in sense of "ridicule"), Bunan √srag "shame", Burmese hrak < *srak "to be ashamed". The root *-rang (prefixed) must have had a generalized honorific force (still retained in Burmese), and thus was admirably suited as a periphrastic term either for MB or for FSiH,HF (= MB under cross-cousin marriage).

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Having completed our review of Tibeto-Burman kinship roots, we are now faced with the problem of fixing the basic pattern of nomenclature for this linguistic family. The terms designating relatives in the central line of descent naturally form the most stable segment of the nomenclature, while the collateral terms show an intermediate, and the affinal terms a maximum, amount of variation.

Within this stable core of nomenclature we are able to distinguish two primary gP terms (gM and gF), two primary P terms (M and F), a neuter yBb term, and a neuter Ch term. The two neuter terms are often employed in a masculine sense (yB and B), with sex affixes used in forming the corresponding feminine terms (yBi and D), e.g. Tibetan bu B, bu-mo D, Burmese su^3 B, su-mi^3 D. No neuter P terms have been uncovered, but Chang has a neuter gP term (a-pi < *p'i gM) used only in address, and a neuter gP term is also found in Sema (a-pu-sa), and in the Southern Kuki languages Sho (a-pǒ) and Ayaing Khami (a-um-ai). Three Southern Kuki languages (Chinbok, Yindu, Anu) make a distinction between FM and MM, but have a single term for gF (Anu FM < M, MM < gM). Four gP terms appear only in rare instances, and are never all primary. Both Tibetan and Kanauri show traces of three or four gP terms, but Kanauri has probably borrowed one or more of its gP terms from Tibetan, and the Tibetan material itself can be interpreted in more than one way. Kachin seems to employ four gP terms, perhaps because of Shan influence, but has only two primary terms (ji gF and woi gM). Garo distinguishes

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 between "gP" (= FF) and "gM" (= FM), and "my gF" (= MF) and "my gM" (= MM), if we can trust our sources for this language. In view of the fact that the Garo are a matrilineal group, this point is of some interest. Chang, which uses the neuter term a-pi gP in address, employs four terms in reference, the FF and FM terms being formed through affixed sex elements, and the MF and MM terms through analysis. Finally, Laiyo, which has an almost exclusively analytical nomenclature, employs four analytical gP terms.

A number of different arrangements of Sb terms have been encountered. Age distinctions appear everywhere and are, in general, more prominent than sex distinctions. Despite this, however, it would appear that the basic pattern has two primary terms for oB and oSi, contrasting with the single neuter ySb term (-nsu). As has been shown above, the widespread tendency to equate oB and oSi with terms for relatives of ascending generations has obscured the general picture here and has made analysis almost impossible. The simplest possible arrangement (oSb and ySb) has been found only in Khami (Ayaing and Awa) and Anyo Rengma. A single primary term for oSb appears also in Kuki proper (u) and in Burmese (ats-), but Burmish-Lolcish in general has two primary oSb terms. Nzong Rengma shows a complete reversal of the ordinary pattern, with terms for oSb, yB, and ySi. Tibetan, Lepcha, Dafla, Kachin, Aka, Lisu, Chang, Chinbon, Ao and probably other less accurately recorded languages have what appears to be the basic arrangement, viz. oB, oSi, and ySb (three primary

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terms). The Barish languages in general employ the root *nau ySb in the meaning "ySi" and have developed a new term for yB (perhaps connected with the Kachin term for B,ws), while Meithei reverses this process in employing *nau for "yB" and the Kukish root *dsar·Si(ms) for ySi. Simple terms for either B or Si are almost entirely lacking in Tibeto-Burman. Abor-Miri has terms for B and Si based on a root *buir (cf. a-buir "friend"), while in Dafla the cognate form *bör is used as the root for ySb, but note that Abor-Miri also possesses especial terms for oSb and ySb. Mikir kor Sb, like Abor-Miri buir, also has the more general meaning "friend".

Though the principle of age distinctions can be established as a basic feature of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, the status of sex-of-speaker distinctions is not so readily settled. We are handicapped here by the fact that most of our sources can not be depended upon in showing non-European distinctions of this type, and that negative evidence is therefore of little value. Distinct terms for Si(ms) and B(ws) are found in Tibetan, Kachin, Lushei and Lakher (and probably other Kuki languages), and Angami. Lushei and Lakher also have a distinct term (of periphrastic origin) for Si(ws). In Burmese and Myi the distinction is applied only to ySb, viz. Burmese yB(ms), yB(ws), ySi(ws), ySi(ms), Myi ySb(ms), yB(ws), ySi(ms), and Maru, in the same linguistic group, has a distinct term for yB(ws). Mikir distinguishes between oSi(ms) and oSi(ws), and has a distinct term for B(ws). Chinbok and Yindu, in the Southern

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Bald group, have a full set of eight Sb terms, showing complete distinctions both for age and for sex-of-speaker. The Chimbok system can be reduced to five primary terms, viz. pai oSi(ws), pwo oB(ms), mau ySb(ss), be Si(ms), and beng B(ws), i.e. the Tibetan-Kachin arrangement. Sex of speaker appears not to be distinguished in Kanauri, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Barish, Meithei, and some other languages, but our sources, as mentioned above, are not of the most dependable sort. In view of the weight of evidence above, from such key languages as Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Mikir, and Lushei, the writer is inclined to regard the sex-of-speaker distinction as an archaic Tibeto-Burman feature.

Despite the fact that no single gCh root can with certainty be reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman, one can surely regard the presence of a primary gCh term as a basic feature for this linguistic family. Aside from the tendency to equate gCh with N or C (vide infra), it can be stated that most Tibeto-Burman languages have a distinct, usually primary, term for gCh, e.g. Kachin ˇsu, Burmese mre^{3}, Byangsi k'we, Kanauri c'ay, Lepcha a-son, Chang ši, Garo and Mikir su, Meithei i-su. If a single gCh root must be predicated, TB *su must be regarded as the most likely selection. Equations of gCh other than with N are exceptional, but note Sema a-nu gCh= Ch{ < TB *nsu ySb).

The above discussion is resumed in the following diagram:

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Tibeto-Burman Basic Pattern

gM (*p'i) gF (*p'u)

M (*ma) F (*p'a)

oSi(ms) oB(ms)

y3b (*nau)

Si(ms) B(ws)

Ch (*za)

gCh

It would be a rather hazardous undertaking to attempt any general explanation of the pattern outlined above in terms of sociological factors. A broad theory of this type must be based on a comprehensive comparative survey of Tibeto-Burman with a number of other groups, and as such lies outside the scope of the present study. Many of the variations from this pattern are undoubtedly significant, but they involve those elusive culturo-linguistic intangibles which do not lend themselves to arm-chair analysis. It is only in the collateral and affinal nomenclatures that obvious cultural correlations are available, and it is these that the writer proposes to consider in some detail.

The distinction between cross (FSi and MB) and parallel (FB and MSi) FSb terms is almost universal in Tibeto-Burman. No instances of an equation of FB with MB have been encountered, but FSi and MSi are equated in Bahing, Lepcha, and Chinbon, if we can trust our sources. Note that Lepcha also equates xC with pC, and that cross-cousin marriage is forbidden in this tribe.

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The parallel FB and MBi terms are usually either equated with the F and M terms (as in Chang, Lushei, Angami, Sema) or are based on these terms, with the addition of elements meaning "big" and "little" or the like. In other words, age distinctions are made in the parallel PSb terms precisely as in the Sb terms, though with categorical rather than primary elements. By way of contrast, the cross PSb terms seldom show these age distinctions, but note Burmese u^3-ri^3 MoB (cf. a-ri^3 FSi), u^3-$mang^3$ MyB, Chinbok pu-$\check{s}r\ddot{o}$ MoB (= gF), pu-ko MyB (these distinctions are typical of Southern Kuki in general). Some of the more characteristic examples of age distinctions in FB terms are listed below:

Language	FoB	FyB
Balti	a-ta ts'ar-ma	a-ta tsun-tso
Lepcha	a-bo-tim	a-bo-cum
Kachin	wa-di	wa-doi
Burmese	p'$\check{a}$-kri^3	p'$\check{a}$-t'we^3
Nyi	a-ba-gi$\ddot{i}$	a-ba-χa
Haka	pa-u	pa-nau
Siyin	pa-lien	pa-no
Chinbon	pa k-d$\ddot{o}$m	pa k-cwi
Tangkhul	a-va k'$\check{a}$-r$\check{a}$r	a-va ka-tui
Lhota	o-po-ra-mo	o-po-ro

One occasionally encounters what seem to be primary terms for FB or MSi, but most of these can be explained on the basis of ellipsis, e.g. Maru t'ong MySi but mye-t'ang MySi,

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p'a-t'ang FyB in the closely related Lashi language; Bodo a-yong FoB and a-doi FyB, but ma-gong MoSi and ma-doi MySi; Nsong Rengma a-nyo FyB (nyo Ch), and perhaps Changki (Ao) a-sa FyB < *za Ch. Kanauri has a curious diminutive formation, viz. a-mats MSi < a-ma, and a-pats FB < a-pa. Tibetan and Nung, however, appear to have four true FSb terms. The Nung terms a-tsim MSi and a-wang FB have been compared with Tsangla a-zim MSi and Garo a-wang FyB, respectively. The Tibetan term sru MSi seems to have been derived from a root with the generalized meaning "mother's relatives", or "member of mother's clan, first ascending generation". Tibetan k'u FB, it can now be stated, has been developed from the TB root *k'u MB, and the Himalayish and Lepcha employment of this term in its Tibetan setting must be credited to Tibetan influence, which is conspicuous in both of these areas. Tibetan skud < *k'u Fl,Bl is to be explained in terms of xC marriage and the equation of WB with WF, as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Tibetan 'a-ne FSi,MBW further fits into this picture. In Himalayish, Kanauri ru Fl < *sru MSb, and o'ad Sl < *ts'a SiS(ms) suggest a like reconstruction. We have some material on xC marriage in the Tibetan area, but the term skud itself is, for the writer, the most significant single piece of evidence. Those who minimize the value of linguistic "fossils" in general might well take note of this term.

The semantic shift FB < MB in the Tibetan term k'u still requires explanation. Elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman the term has

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been demoted to affinal rank or dropped altogether, but nowhere else has it been applied to FB. Now there is but one marital feature in which the Tibetan area (including the Kanauri group of Himalayish) significantly differs from the remaining Tibeto-Burman area, viz. polyandry. Fraternal polyandry of Tibetan type is practised by the Kanauri, almost certainly through Tibetan influence, since this custom is explicitly stated to be absent among the Almora peoples (Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Johar). Among the Lepcha polyandry is an abnormal trait and can unhesitatingly be assigned a Tibetan origin. Among other Tibeto-Burman group for which we have any record, polyandry either is said to be lacking or is simply not mentioned. Since Tibetan polyandry is of fraternal type, the importance of FB can readily be understood. It would seem that the MB term, which is unstable in most TB groups, was first replaced by the honorific term ʾa-žang and later applied to FB. The collective term skud-po Fl,Bl, having already been semantically specialized in an affinal sense, was naturally retained.

Primary cross PSb terms are basic TB features, and are represented by the roots *ni FSi and *k'u MB. The first of these two terms, however, is much more stable than the second, and significantly so (if statistically treated). Thus, Tibetan has transferred the MB term to FB and used an honorific for MB; Burmish-Loloish has retained the MB term only as an honorific applied to oB (in Burmese) or as an affinal term

SA (Ahi, Moso) and has developed new terms for MB (Burmese a^{3},
601 Lolo *ru); the Kuki languages proper have dropped the MB term
193 altogether and equated MB with gF; in the Naga group the MB
197 term has been preserved in its original setting only in Ao,
ST while in Rengma and Sema it has been retained only in the
601 affinal nomenclature. All of these groups, however, have the
193 root *ni FSi in its original setting. Burmese (but not
197 Burmish-Loloish) has replaced both the FSi and MB terms and dropped the former altogether, while Kachin has retained both terms only in its affinal nomenclature. The relatively greater stability of the FSi term is also evident in the borrowings made by various TB groups (infra).

This "differential variability" in the FSi and MB terms must be viewed in connection with the affinal application of these terms and the whole problem of cross-cousin marriage. Under bilateral xC marriage MB becomes Fl, and FSi becomes Ml, and it is not unlikely that honorific terms should become associated with these socially "pivotal" relationships. The fact that the MB=Fl term is more susceptible to this process than is the FSi=Ml term merely reflects the general patrilineal bias of Tibeto-Burman societies. The equation of MB with gP, which plays so prominent a role in Kukish, represents one aspect of this whole development, but teknonymy may also be a factor here ("Fl" designated as "gF of my son"). Teknonymy is hardly typical of Tibeto-Burman yet does occasionally occur. Lepcha, for example, employs a-bo F for Fl

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where the couple are childless, but t'i-kung gF after the birth of a child, and the descriptive term a-fyat Fl has been derived from an original *sput, which in turn represents a morphological development from the TB root *p'u gF. Vayu ca-k'i Fl appears to be a combination of co < *ca Ch and ki-ki gF. Lahu, in the Southern Lolo group, has a-p'u gF= Fl, a-p'i gM=Ml, and Ahi, in the Northern Lolo group, has zu-p'o WF, also "paternal ancestor". The Chang Sbl terms are of teknonymous origin, e.g. hau-ko Bl(ms)="his MB", but the Chang Pl terms are simply Fl=MB and Ml= FSi. Chinbon equates WF with gF, and WM with gM (rather than with MF and MBW, as in most Kuki languages), but retains the Kuki pattern in the HM and HF terms (HF= FSi, and especial term for HF), i.e. the teknonymous (or honorific) terms are employed only by the husband. The Mirish languages (Abor, Miri, Dafla) afford the best illustration of teknonymy. In Miri the terms a-bu and a-nā are used for F and M, respectively, but in the closely related Abor language these terms are applied to gF and gM, though ta-ta (Miri ta-to gF) is retained as the vocative term for gF. In this instance the child has taken over his parents' terms ("reverse teknonymy") rather than the parent his childrens' terms. Abor also uses the vocative gF term (ta-ta) for Fl, while Miri equates Fl either with gF or with MB, and Ml either with gM or with FSi (the equations with MB and FSi are probably only descriptive, though this is not stated in our sources). Dafla equates Ml with gM, probably also Fl with gF.

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Under a system of bilateral xC marriage we should expect to find both WF and HF equated with MB, and both WM and HM equated with FSi. This condition is fulfilled in Byangsi and Abor-Miri, where this type of marriage is in vogue. The terminological equation also appears, however, in Nung, Chang, Sema, Nzong Rengma, and Lhota, for all of which preferential MBD marriage is indicated, and in Tangkhul and Angami, for which xC marriage cannot be established.

A system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD should lead to the equation of WF with MB, HM with FSi, and separate terms for HF and WM, as well as distinctions between FSiH and MB, MBW and FSi. Kachin fulfills all these conditions admirably, with unilateral xC marriage coupled with the terminological equations indicated above. The same can be said for the Kuki pattern, as illustrated in Lakher, Thado, Chawte, Tarau, as well as in Mru and Khami, viz. WF = MB, WM = MBW, HM = FSi, HF = FSiH. Unilateral MBD marriage is found among the Thado, Chiru, Anal, Aimol, Purum, and probably the Anal, Sho, and Khami. In Thado this nomenclature is employed only where MBD marriage has actually occurred, P terms being employed under other conditions.

Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma have an intermediate type, with M1 = FSi but WF = MB and a distinct term for HF, but in both languages the MB term is sometimes applied to HF as well as to WF. The closely related Nzong Rengma has a single term for F1 (WF, HF = MB), but retains a distinct term for FSiH. Sema has the same scheme as Nzong Rengma. The Sema term for FSiH,

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furthermore, is cognate with the Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma term for HF, and in Ao the same term appears in its original setting (MB). This Naga material thus shows various stages of the transformation of the affinal terminology through the development of unilateral xC marriage. The discrepancies found in Nung, Chang, and Lhota are perhaps more apparent than real, and in the case of Nung and Lhota, at any rate, our sources may be faulty. Even in these affinal features, however, we must expect to find a certain amount of dissassociation, for we must allow for linguistic "lag", i.e. the simple scheme of equating F1 with MB and M1 with FSi tends to be perpetuated even where the development of a unilateral "skew" has rendered it theoretically illogical. This general point has been raised many times before, but will bear repetition in view of the fact that a number of modern theoreticians seem to object to this sort of reasoning.

It is fairly evident that the abandonment of xC marriage as an institutionalized norm has in several different groups resulted in the disappearance of categorical equations. In Tibetan and Kanauri we have only the "fossilized" terms skud-po and ru, respectively, which require comparative studies for a full appraisal of their significance. In Lahul, however, where we have a hint of xC marriage, the equations F1= MB and M1= FSi are in evidence. In Burmese itself categorical equations are lacking, and here also we have no evidence of xC marriage, but the situation is reversed in Arakanese (Chaungtha).

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Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, equate Ml with FSi, WF with MB, and have a distinct term for FSiH, HF (as in Nsong and Anyo Rengma). Kachin influence perhaps plays a role here, yet the Kachin distinguish between WM and HM, as is consistent with their unilateral xC marriage practice. Nyi, in the Northern Lolo group, has derived its terms for WF and WM from the terms for MB and FSi, respectively, plus the element mo "old", acting here as an honorific, while the Burmish-Loloish affinal root *yok is employed in the terms for HM and HF. Ahi seems to reverse this scheme, to judge from our faulty data on this language. For Lisu we have only what appear to be the vocative terms for Fl and Ml (ma-ma < a-ma M, ba-ba < a-ba F), and hence are not in a position to interpret this Lolo material. The use of respectful designations may be a complicating factor here; cf. Lushei pu-zon WF, pi-zon WM, conforming to the Kuki pattern (from pu MB and pi MBW plus an added element -zon), but pa HF (= F) and nu HM (= M), i.e. a woman equates her husband's relatives with her own blood kin.

Categorical equations in the Fl terms are present elsewhere, but our sources are often incomplete. Garo equates Ml with FSi, MBW, but has a distinct term for Fl (a-bu-di, perhaps "little gF"). Mikir equates WF with MB, WM with FSi (with or without the addition of an honorific suffix), and has a distinct term for HF. If we assume that HM (not given in our sources) is also equated with FSi, this system can be compared with that found in Rengma and Maru. Both Garo and Mikir have

SA 601 193 197 preferential MBD marriage. Meithei equates Ml with FSi, and has i-ku Fl < TB *k'u MB (the MB term is not known for sure, but may be the Indic loan-word māmā); the Meithei are not known to practice xC marriage.

ST 601 193 197 The rest of the collateral terminology (C and N terms) is even more poorly known than the PSb terminology, and presents even more serious problems. In view of the presence of basic TB roots for MB (*k'u) and FSi (*ni) one might expect to find one or more roots for xC, but such is hardly the case. The extension of Sb terms to include pC is practically universal and need not be examined in detail. The lack of especial xC terms is probably associated with the lack of xC marriage, but there are too many lacunae in our data to permit of any final judgment here. Tibetan apparently fails to distinguish between pC and xC, but Burmese perhaps has a distinct xC term (sa-mi^{3}-mrok-sa^{3}, lit. "D's spouse"!). By way of contrast, Chaungtha, one of the Arakanese dialects, has yauk-pa Bl,xC corresponding to Burmese yok-p'a^{3} Bl(ms), in conformity with its equation of Fl with MB and Ml with FSi, i.e. an affinal term has "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature.

Terms for xCe and xCi in conjunction with xC marriage are found in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, Lisu, and Chang, while Dafla has this terminological pattern but without data on xC marriage. Chang appears to have preferential MBD marriage, but the bilateral type is found among the others.

SA 601 193 ●197 ST 601 193 197 Byangsi-Chaudangsi makes a sex-of-speaker distinction, viz. xCi(ms), xCe(ws), xC(ss), and Abor-Miri makes an age distinction. None of the terms involved is associated with a PSb term or a N term. The Abor-Miri terms show "invasion" from the affinal terminology, as in Chaungtha, e.g. mag-bo xCe(os) = oBl,Sl, from TB *mak Sl. Note that in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, and Chang this xC pattern is associated with the simple Pl = PSb categorical equations (for Lisu we lack full information on the Pl terms).

Cross-cousin terminologies of Omaha type are found in two primary foci, viz. Kachin and Kukish. The correlation between the Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal descent, one of the few widely accepted anthropological generalizations, obtains both among the Kachin and the various Kuki and Naga tribes. Of the Tibeto-Burman peoples only the Garo and Khasi, in the Barish group, are known to have matrilineal descent, and unfortunately we know nothing of the cousin terminology in use among these tribes. There is a hint of the Crow type of terminology in Bodo, also in the Barish group, but we cannot be sure that the Bodo reckon descent in the matrilineal line. Bodo (nang-)a-doi "(thy) oBCh", (a-)doi FyB show reciprocity, as has already been pointed out, but Bodo nam-ba-noi "(thy) SiS", (nang-)a-noi "(thy) SiD", and a-noi FSi cannot be explained on this basis and suggest rather the Crow pattern. It is greatly to be regretted that our Garo sources fail us at this critical point.

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The Kachin system, which is quite distinct from that found in Kukish, merits especial examination. The key terms are as follows:

Kachin Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

moi FSi

ning xCi(ws)

k'ri FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms)

rat MBD(oms)

nam MBD(yms), BCh(ws)

ts'a MB, MBS(ws)

k'au xCe(ms)

(Affinal)

ni WM, MBW, WBW

moi HM

ning HSi, BW(ws)

nam Dl, wySi, yBW(ms), WBCh

ku HF, FSiH, HoB, oSiH(ws)

ts'a WF, BWB(ws)

k'au WB, SiH(ms)

k'ri Sl, HSiCh, FSiHSi

rat WoSi, ySiH(ws), oBW(ms), HyB

The main features of this system have already been discussed in pt. 7. It will be observed that the lineal equations characteristic of the Omaha pattern appear only in the terms for non-marriageable cross-cousins under the Kachin unilateral xC marriage arrangement, i.e. a man equates his (non-marriageable) FSiD with his SiCh, while a woman equates her (non-marriageable) MBS with her MB. The terms applied by a woman to her (marriageable) FSiS are not known, but a man equates his (marriageable) MBD with his WSi. Distinct terms are used by speakers of each sex for xC(ss).

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 On the basis of comparative material, the terms nam and k'ri must be regarded as originally affinal (D1 and S1, respectively). Both terms have "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature via the categorical equations D1=BD(ws) and S1=SiS(ms), as are consistent with the practice of MBD marriage. Note that both terms have become neuter in the course of this transformation. We must next enquire of the fate of the original xN terms thus displaced. The terms moi FSi and ts'a MB can be called upon at this point. We lack comparative material on moi, but Tibetan has ts'a SiS(ms) corresponding to the Kachin term, and we can therefore interpret Kachin ts'a MB as a product of reciprocal usage. We have conclusive support for this view in the term k'ri HSiCh,FSiHSi, which at first puzzled the writer. Under the Kachin tripartite organization, as described by Gilhodes, FSiHSi becomes MBW, and MBW ~ HSiCh are reciprocal terms. Since moi FSi closely parallels ts'a MB, we are justified in interpreting this term analogically as a reciprocal development from BD(ws).

To continue our analysis, moi and ts'a have displaced the original cross FSb terms ni and ku, which are retained in the affinal nomenclature. An original system of bilateral xC marriage must be postulated to account for ni WZ,MBW < FSi, and ku BF,FSiH < MB. The categorical equations shown by ning xCi(ws)=Sil(ws) and k'au xCe(ms)=Bl(ms) also call for this type of marriage.

To complete our reconstruction, the terms ning, k'au, and rat must be regarded as originally consanguineal rather

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 thsm affinal. We have comparative material only for ning, which is represented by Chang (Konyak) nyăng < *ning xC, Nikir neng < *ning BW(ws). We must further reconstruct rat as the term for xC(ds), i.e. the marriageable xC under the original bilateral xC marriage arrangement. This yields the theoretical categorical equations xCi(ms)=Sil(ms) and xCe(ws)=Bl(ws). Under the conventional type of levirate, which is found among the Kachin, a distinction must be made between the (marriageable) oBW and the (non-marriageable) yBW. In Kachin this distinction is made, in the case of a man, by equating yBW with Dl (nam) and in retaining the term rat for oBW, and, in the case of a woman, by equating HoB with HF (ka) and in retaining the term rat for HyB. Since a man marries his MBD, the distinction between rat MBD(oms) and nam MBD(yms) is the natural result of that described above. It is a fair inference that the missing terms for FSiS(ws) are ka FSiS(ows) and rat FSiS(yws). Note that the equation of MBD(yms) with BCh(ws) is a by-product, so to speak, and is not to be taken as a 'Crow' feature.

We are now in a position to evaluate the Omaha features of the Kachin system. It has been demonstrated that the Kachin have developed a unilateral xC marriage system from an original bilateral arrangement, and that this shift has produced a profound transformation in the kinship terminology. The equating of MBS(ws) with MB, and of FSiD(ms) with SiCh(ms) serves to distinguish the non-marriageable from the marriageable

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cross-cousins. These equations closely parallel those already noted in the Sbl terminology, and appear to form part of the same pattern. If this inference be correct, we must regard the institution of the levirate as a contributing factor here.

The Kachin terminology under the original bilateral xC marriage system can be reconstructed as follows:

Reconstructed Kachin System

(Consanguineal)

ni FSi	kn MB
ning xCi(ws)	k'au xCe(ms)
rat xC(ds)	
noi SD(ws)	ts'a SiS(ms)

(Affinal)

ni MBW,Ml	kn FSiH,Fl
ning Sil(sW)	k'au Sl(ss)
rat Sbl(ds)	
nam Dl	k'ri Sl

Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, show Omaha features of Kachin type, e.g. Lashi so-ok FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms) and so-auk Sl (a variant of so-ok), directly comparable with the Kachin term k'ri. Our material here is too uncertain to justify any further investigation of this point, and we have no data on the Maru and Lashi marriage practices. Both tribes are closely identified with the Kachin, and have even incorporated Kachin loan-words into their kinship nomenclatures, so that direct Kachin influence must be reckoned with in this

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matter. To judge from what little we know of the collateral terms of other Burmish-Loloish languages, Omaha features are not present. There is some evidence suggesting that the root *tu is applied both to N and C in Lisu and in Ulu (Northern Lolo), but the Lisu material is inconsistent and the Ulu material is not precise

The Omaha nomenclatures found among the Kukish tribes are quite distinct in type from the Kachin nomenclature. The Kuki tribes proper, including Southern Kuki and Tangkhul, employ the following basic scheme (in many varieties):

Kuki Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

pi gM,MBD — pu gF,MB,MS

ni FSi

tu FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh

(Affinal)

pi MBW,WM,WSi — pu WF,WB

ni HM — -rang FSiH,HF

mou DI,BW(ws) — mak SI,SiH(ws)

Lushei has an especial term for BCh(ws), viz. va' (apparently connected with the root *wa H), and Yindu has an especial term for BD(ws), viz. (ka-)li, which has been compared with the root *ma-li gCh (Burmese, Nung), xH (Akkir). In Siyin and Chawte, however, BCh(ws) is equated with Ch. The analyzing development in Laiyo has entirely obliterated all traces of the Omaha system, yet the term tu FSiCh is

SA retained. Haka has both (k-)tu FSiCh and the analytical term
601 (k-)ni fa as an alternative. Lakher applies Sb terms (in
193 address) to FSiCh and occasionally to MBCh, and both Thado
197 and Aimol sometimes apply the oSb term to FSiCh(os). Chinbok
ST employs an analytical term for MBS, but equates MBD with MySi.
601 Thado resembles Chinbok in equating MBD with MSi, but elsewhere
193 the regular equation is with MBW = gM. Chinbok is further
197 aberrant in equating FSiS with SiS(ms) but having a distinct term for gS. Yindu equates DS with SiS, FSiS, but employs an analytical term for SS. Yindu has distinct terms for MBCh, and Kyaw has distinct terms both for MBCh and FSiCh(i.e. Omaha features are lacking). Aimol, if we can trust our sources, has reversed the Kuki pattern, with (ka-)pu FSiS and (ka-)tu-pa MBS. Chinbon has MoBS = MyB, MyBS = WB, reflecting the stress placed on age distinctions in Southern Kuki. Our Chawte material, which is not reliable, indicates a distinction between FSiS(ws) and FSiD(ms), and the equation of SiCh(mws) with gCh. The affinal term mak Sl is commonly replaced by the consanguineal term tu SiS(ms), as in Haka, Chawte, and Sho, and the reverse process whereby an affinal term "invades" the consanguineal nomenclature (as in Kachin) is illustrated by Kyaw sa-mak SiCh(ms) = Sl, and Ayaing Khami mok-sa FSiCh, SiCh(ms) = Sl, both from the root *mak Sl. The latter language has retained the root *tu, however, in the term (ka-)tu FSiCh(ws), gS.

It is evident from the above citations that this Omaha pattern is extremely susceptible to variation at all points.

SA 601 193 197 Nothing approaching the specific Kachin variety has been encountered, however, and the two systems seem to have little in common. In the Kuki system the equations FBiCh=BiCh(ms) and MBS=MB obtain regardless of the sex or speaker, there are ST 601 193 197 additional equations of MB with gF and BiCh(ms) with gCh, and ni FBi is retained as a consanguineal term. In addition, distinct terms for xC(ss) and Sbl are lacking. The historical developments of the two systems have been quite different, if we are permitted to draw inferences from comparative data. The terms pi and pu are the original gP terms (TB *p'i gM, *p'u gF), and the term -rang (prefixed) can be regarded as the original term for MB, cognate with Tibetan ʾa-žang < *zrang MB (cf. Kachin ku HF,FSiH=MB). The term tu occasions some difficulty, since we have only the Burmish-Lolo1sh root *tu and the Nung term pa-du, both applied to N (xN in Burmese) for comparison. In view of the parallelism in the equations MB=gF and xN=gCh, however, we must fix the original meaning of tu as "gCh" rather than "xN". The clue to these equations seems to be teknonymy in conjunction with xC marriage, i.e. we must suppose that a man applied the teknonymous terms pu gF and pi gM to his wife's parents, whereas a woman applied the consanguineal terms ni FSi and -rang MB. With the development of unilateral marriage with MBD, a feature found in the Kuki area as well as in Kachin, the two sets of Fl terms were fully differentiated in function, and the term pu Fl=gF replaced the consanguineal term -rang MB, with pi coming into

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use for MBW. The equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh was the natural result of the above development. Since the term ni FSi was retained in its original setting, no comparable term was developed for the reciprocal relationship BCh(ws). The evidence for the use of teknonymous terms in Tibeto-Burman in general has been resumed above and need not be discussed at this point. Within the Kuki group, note Chinbon (ka-)mo-pauk WH=gF and (ka-)mu-bok MoB (probably a variant of the foregoing), (ka-)mo WM=gM and (ka-)mok MoBW (probably a variant of the foregoing), but (ka-)se HF (analysis uncertain), (ka-)si HM=FSi. Chinbon thus makes use of teknonymous terms precisely as suggested above for the Kuki group in general.

We are still faced with the problem of explaining the equations MBS=MB, MBD=MBW (or MSi), and FSiCh=SiCh(ms). Here again we must take into account the affinal setting of these terms under a system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD. The fundamental equation seems to have been that between WF and WB (pu) rather than between MB and MBS, i.e. these kin were identified because of the similarity of their roles as wife's father and brother rather than as mother's brother and mother's brother's son. In other terms, the especial position of MB and MBS among the Kuki groups seems in large measure to have arisen through xC marriage. The equation of FSiCh with SiCh(ms) reflects the equation of MBS with MB, just as the equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh reflects the equation of MB with gF.

It is possible to conceive of the Kuki development without recourse to teknonymy simply by assuming that pu gF was

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applied to MB and MBS in an honorific sense, with tu gCh SiCh(ms)=FSiCh as a complementary equation. In any event, the equation in the MB line must be regarded as the primary one, and the equation in the FSi line as complementary. The same situation was found to obtain among the Kachin (supra).

The Naga languages, which make up the northern division of the Kukish group, also reveal Omaha features, which are of Kuki rather than Kachin type. MBD is equated with MSi or MySi rather than with gM=MBW. In Ao (all three dialects) the terms for gF (o-pu) and gCh (sam-cir) are distinct, i.e. there is no teknonymy, the TB root *k'u is retained in the consanguineal nomenclature (o-k'u MB,MBS) while MBD is equated with MySi, and the affinal terms for Si (a-nok) and Di (a-mu) are applied to FSiS,SiS(ms) and FSiD,SiD(ms), respectively, precisely as in Ayaing Khami. Sema has a distinct term for gF (neuter) and equates gCh with Ch, but has developed a new root for MB,MBS (a-ngu) and has retained the root *k'u only in the affinal meaning "FSiH" (a-ci). Thus both Ao and Sema show full Omaha features without distinction of sex of speaker (as in Kuki) but also without teknonymy (as in Kachin). The Angami, Rengma, and Lhota systems, however, all show teknonymous features. Rengma (all three dialects) equates MB,MBS(os) with gF (ggF in Nzong), and FSiCh,SiCh(ms) with gCh. Lhota shows a partial equation of MB,MBS with gF (o-mo and o-mo-tsü) and at least similar terms for FSiS,SiS(ms) and gS (o-hro and o-hre). Angami equates FSiS,ySiS(ms) with gS, but distinguishes between

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 gF and MB, yet the term for the latter (mi) is connected with the Rengma term for gF,MB (a-mi ~ a-mui) and the Lhota term for MB (o-mo) and gF (o-mo-tsü). We can thus interpret Angami mi MB as the original term for gF,MB and in this way explain the lack of symmetry in the Angami nomenclature as it now stands (a man calls his sister's child "gCh", but a child calls his mother's brother "uncle"). Angami lacks the Omaha traits on one side, since MBCh is addressed or described by name, or analytically if the need arises. The Rengma equations on the MB side appear only in the vocative nomenclature, and only when the cousin (MBS or MBD) addressed is older than speaker.

As noted in pt. 16, Majumder attempted to explain some of the features of the Sema nomenclature in terms of marriage with F's widow, after the fashion instituted by Rivers. Almost no instances of marriages of this type have been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman area, however, and the writer fails to see how Rivers' theories are of any relevancy in the present situation. The most curious form of marriage noted is the Lisu marriage with FSi cited by Fraser, and this is not reflected in the Lisu nomenclature. Omaha features among the Omaha and Miwok are perhaps based on WBD marriage, but for the American evidence there is no unanimity of opinion, and at least three recent writers on the subject (White, Gifford, Tax) have attacked this as a general explanation. Of this trio White alone suggests a general explanation, viz. that the Omaha type

SA 601 193 197 is developed from the Dakota-Iroquois type (pC=Sb, xC distinct term) under the influence of a mature and vigorous patrilineal clan system. Gifford has successfully attacked this view on the basis of the American material, and the same general strictures are applicable in the Tibeto-Burman field, where no correlation can be established between strong patrilineal clans and the Omaha type of terminology.

The Kuki equation of xN with gCh is also encountered in Miri (ā < o-i "child below") and Tibetan (ts'a). Miri has retained the TB root *k'u MB (a-kū), but does apply teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml (= MB and FSi under the Miri bilateral xC marriage system). In Tibetan, however, teknonymy has been found only in the dialect of Bathang (eastern Tibet) as recorded by Desgodins, who cites rmo-rmo Ml = MW (hence a man's term for his WM). Abor shows reverse teknonymy in the shifts a-bu gF < F and a-nā gM < M, reflected in the equation o Ch = N = gCh (Abor, like Miri, applies teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml).

SA 601 ST 601 We are perhaps not justified in concluding that all equations of xN with gCh are based on teknonymy involving the affinal nomenclature (gF > Fl = MB), but no better general explanation can be suggested. The general thesis outlined above conforms to the basic Tibeto-Burman sociological pattern of cross-cousin marriage, and thus enjoys an initial advantage over any alternative theories of a more ad hoc nature.

Reciprocal terminology has already been mentioned in connection with Kachin ts'a MB < SiCh(ms), k'ri HSiCh, FSiHSi,

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some tribes of the Nama marriage with MBD "is said to have been far more common" (p. 244). For the replacement of the MB term by the Dutch loan-word (omeb < oom), cf. the widespread Tibeto-Burman borrowing of the Indic term māmā MB (infra).

The BaThonga evidence (Junod, pp. 216 and ff.) is complicated by the existence of dialectical differences. The regular MB term is malume (Zulu malume MB), applied also to MBS. The Northern BaThonga, however, have kokwana gF,MB,MBS, ntukulu SiS(ms),gS. The BaRonga clans are in a neatly transitional stage, with alternative sets of terms. Radcliffe-Brown (1924) has made an illuminating analysis of the BaThonga material, in which the significance of the terms malume ("male mother") and rarana ("female father") is pointed out (cf. also Firth's discussion of the FSi as "male father" in Tikopia). The BaThonga do not practice xC marriage, according to Junod, and the parallelism with Kuki thus breaks down at this point. Since the application of kokwana gF to MB is apparently of late origin here, the teknonymy principle is of no avail in this instance, and we must accept Radcliffe-Brown's mode of reasoning. Note that neither the Nama nor the BaThonga system is of true Omaha type.

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Loan-words appear in many of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, and include terms of Indic, Chinese, and Shan origin, as well as of Tibeto-Burman origin. Indic loan-words are found in a string of languages extending from Baltistan

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and Kanawur in the northwest to the Garo Hills in the southeast, all exposed to direct Indian influence. The extent of borrowing in kinship nomenclature is in general correlated with the rate of borrowing in general, but this is not necessarily so, e.g. Magari has preserved a large proportion of its original TB vocabulary yet has retained only a single kinship term (za Ch), if we can trust our sources. The tendency to borrow terms for male kin rather than female kin has been observed in Balti, Kanauri, Newari (less well marked), Miri, and Barish. Terms for relatives older than speaker are also more likely to be borrowed than those for relatives younger than speaker. Probably both points can be explained on the basis of the honorific connotations associated with loan-words in general, which go to make up the "respectable" idiom as opposed to the vulgar. The term mama MB has been borrowed by Balti, Kanauri, Dhimal, Bodo, Garo, and perhaps Meithei, whereas the Indic FSi term has been borrowed only once (Dhimal).

The most prominent instances of borrowings made within Tibeto-Burman are those of Lepcha from Tibetan, and Atsi from Kachin. To illustrate the vagaries in the borrowing process, Atsi borrows its MB and FSi terms from Kachin but retains its native FB and MSi terms, whereas Byangsi (Almora group) borrows from Indic (Khasiya) its terms for FoB and FyB but employs a native term for MB. The borrowing of a term in a specialized sense only is exemplified by the following curious series: Kanauri mak-pa "Si living in Fi's house" (from Tibetan); Lepcha ku-mok, id. (from Tibetan); Kachin

SA 197 601 ST 197 601 luk-k'i, id. (from Shan). All three languages have distinct Sl terms applied under normal conditions. Contrast Garo nok-rong "Sl living in Fl's house" (native term), cowari "Sl other than above" (from Indic); note that among the Garo the nok-rong is a formalized institution in a matrilineal society. It would be difficult to find a more ideal illustration of the mirroring of sociological features in linguistic phenomena.

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1 [For abbreviations see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI -- Analyst.]